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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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Vol. 64, No. 9 **Whole Number 547**

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November, 1957

COVER .

Ruth Rhatia Boyd, 21, of New York City, is the daughter of Rev. and and Mrs. G. F. Boyd. She graduated from Wadleigh High School, New York City, as valedictorian of her class, and from Hunter College *cum laude*, making Phi Beta Kappa, where she majored in sociology with a minor in psychology. Miss Boyd plans to pursue her graduate studies at Columbia University.—Photo by Cecil Layne.

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L. K. Hughes

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS—*Edwin T. Sexton, Jr. (L) accepts an NAACP life membership check from Wichita, Kansas, branch president Chester I. Lewis, Jr. Mr. Lewis in turn accepts Mr. Sexton's life membership.*

■ Review of events at Little Rock in the showdown between the state and the federal government

Crisis in Little Rock

By Gloster B. Current

DURING sessions of the eighth annual Arkansas state NAACP conference in '56, a nine-foot cross was burned in front of the home of Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates in Little Rock. Since that time, five crosses have been burned in front of their home, innumerable telephone calls have been made nightly, and other reprisals threatened as a result of Mrs. Bates' activity as president of the Arkansas state NAACP conference and the role played by their newspaper *The State Press*.

The shadow of that charred cross falling across the window presaged a series of dramatic events throughout the next year, culminating in the act of Governor Orval Faubus who, on September 2, ordered out the National Guard and the State Police to bar admission of nine Negro students to Central High School.

The Arkansas Story began in 1955 when 33 parents filed suit against the Little Rock School Board demanding immediate integration. The Federal District Court in a decision August 15, 1956, approved the school board's plan of integration. Under this plan, integration was scheduled to start on the high school level at the beginning of the 1957 fall term. Within three years, the school board anticipated integrating the junior high schools and promised to complete the integration of all schools by 1963.

The Eighth Circuit United States Court of Appeals at St. Louis upheld the Little Rock plan in a decision handed down April 29, 1957. The NAACP, which was opposed to the Little Rock plan, announced on July 13, 1957, that it had decided against a further appeal. Wiley A. Branton of Pine Bluff, NAACP attorney, said in a letter to the school board, "Although

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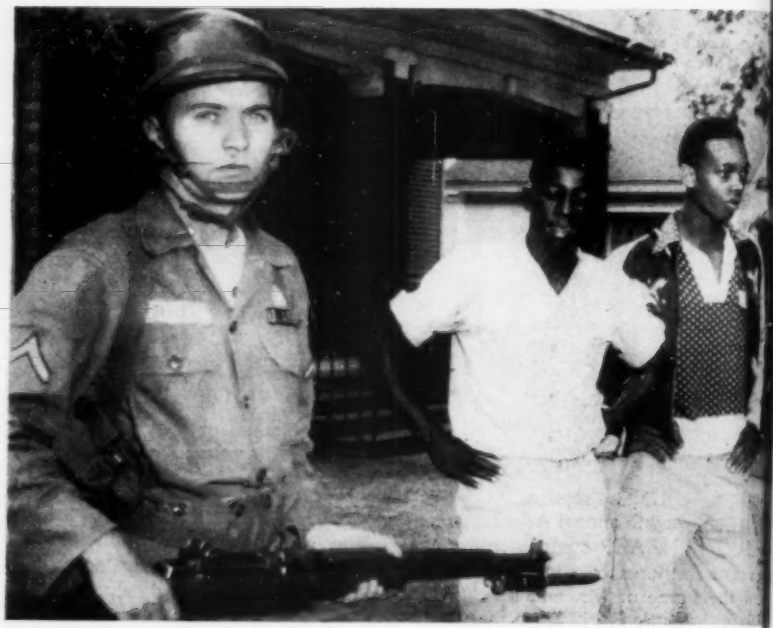
GLOSTER B. CURRENT *is the well known director of NAACP branches.*



United Press

AFTER *a two-block chase by white students in integration-torn Little Rock, two Negroes stand behind the protection of this 101st Airborne soldier.*

the plaintiffs feel as strongly about the issues raised on appeal, time has made many of the problems moot and the opinion of the Appellate Court clarifies some of the issues more favorably for us." It was felt by NAACP attorneys and parents that the decision "left room for a 'give and take' attitude on both sides which would make for a spirit of good will and harmony among the students and patrons in the initial phase of school desegregation at Little Rock."

Thereafter, the NAACP and the school board joined hands to prepare the community for integration. Virgil T. Blossom, superintendent of Schools, addressed many meetings of organizations and individuals as part of this effort. The problems and experiences of other southern communities which had desegregated were studied and the best features adopted for the preparation of Little Rock citizens. On the whole, with the exception of Hoxie, integration in several Arkansas communities had proceeded since 1954 almost without incident. It was felt by the NAACP and others, therefore, that the city of Little Rock would accept integration without friction.

Eleven Negro students were orig-

inally scheduled to be admitted into Central High School in September, 1957. Only nine transfers were processed, however, by opening day. The following students were admitted: Minnie Brown, Elizabeth Eckford, Ernest Green, Thelma Mothershed, Melba Pattillo, Gloria Ray, Terrence Roberts, Jefferson Thomas, Carlotta Walls. Mrs. Bates met with the Negro students frequently and discussed with them some of the problems they would meet in the school, and attempted to prepare them for their initial venture into the integrated school system.

The first inkling of trouble came on August 29, when a temporary injunction against integration of the Little Rock public schools, sought by the Governor, was issued by the Pulaski County Chancery Court. Governor Faubus testified at the hearing, and predicted trouble if integration were carried out at the time. The school board appealed the Chancery Court's decision to the federal courts, and obtained an injunction which was issued the next day, August 30, by Judge Ronald M. Davies of Fargo, North Dakota. The injunction enjoined "all persons, in any manner, directly or indirectly, from interfering with the plan of integration as approved by the U.S. District Court on August 15, 1956."

On Tuesday, September 3, the Negro children did not attempt to enter the school. In a report to the NAACP office on September 4, Mrs. Bates was not certain if the children would be admitted that morning because of the crowds which had gathered around the high school. When the students did try to enter, they were turned back by the National Guardsmen, acting under orders from Governor Faubus. United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell was requested by Judge Davies to order an investigation.

Governor Faubus appealed to President Eisenhower and stated that his reasons for calling out the National Guard were "to preserve the peace and good order of this comunity." He accused federal authorities of tapping his telephone lines and urged the President to use his good offices to "stop the unwarranted interference of federal agents in this area, so that we may again enjoy domestic tranquility and continue in our pursuits of ideal relations between other races."

President Eisenhower replied firmly, telling the Governor that there was no basis to his statements. The President informed the Governor that the Department of Justice "is presently collecting facts as to interference with or failure to comply with the district's court order. You and other state officials—as well as the National Guard which is, of course, uniformed, armed and partially sustained by the Government—will, I am sure, give full cooperation to the United States District Court."

SCHOOL BOARD FRIGHTENED

On the 5th of September, the Little Rock School Board, frightened by what had occurred, petitioned the Federal Court for a delay. Judge Davies, after hearing arguments, in denying the petition, reiterated that the plan had previously been approved by the Federal Court and up-

held; that the testimony of the Little Rock Superintendent and the arguments were "as anemic as the board's petition itself; and the position taken by the school directors does violence to my concept of the duty of the petitioners to adhere with resolution to its own approved plan of gradual integration in the Little Rock public schools.

"It must never be thought that this court has not given careful consideration to this problem and all that it entails, but it must never be forgotten that I have a constitutional duty and obligation from which I shall not shrink. This court is not persuaded that upon the tenuous showing made by the petitioners this morning that it should suspend enforcement of the petitioners' plan of integration."

Little Rock's Mayor, Woodrow W. Mann also opposed the Governor's action. He maintained that Governor Faubus had called out the Guard to put down trouble "where none existed". The Mayor declared that the Governor had acted without "a request from those of us who are directly responsible for preservation of peace and order", and that the "only effect of his action is to create tensions where none existed."

After receiving the report of the U.S. District Attorney that Negro students were not being permitted to attend Little Rock's Central High School, Judge Davies on September 9 requested United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell and the U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Arkansas, Cobb, to file a petition against Governor Faubus, Major General Sherman T. Clinger, Adjutant General of the Arkansas National Guard; and Lt. Col. Marion E. Johnson, Unit Commander of the Arkansas National Guard, seeking an injunction to prevent further interference with carrying out the orders of the court in the integration of Central High School. The petition was prepared as directed and the hearing set for September 20.

PRESIDENTIAL CONFERENCE

On September 11, Governor Faubus telegraphed President Eisenhower requesting a conference, which was granted for the 14th in Newport, Rhode Island. Apparently, the President thought he had an understanding with Governor Faubus about carrying out the orders of the federal court, for after the conference, he issued a statement terming the conference "constructive" and indicated that the Governor had "stated his intention to respect the decision of the United States District Court and give his full cooperation in carrying out the orders of the federal court in the matter of the high school of Little Rock." Governor Faubus called the conference "friendly and constructive," and said he had assured the President of his "desire to cooperate with him in carrying out the duties resting upon both of us under the Constitution of Arkansas with the requirements of the Federal Constitution." He stated further that the people of Little Rock are law abiding and "I know that they expect to obey valid court orders." However, on September 19, Governor Faubus filed an affidavit requesting Judge Davies to disqualify himself because of personal bias and prejudice, charging that the Judge would be unable to conduct a fair

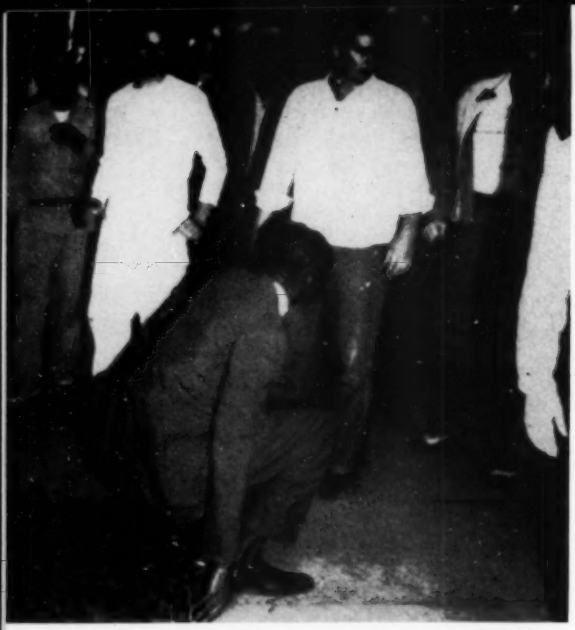
United Press

WHITE STUDENTS *of Central High School walk through the main entrance to attend morning classes in Little Rock on September 25, as soldiers of the 101st Airborne Division stand guard at top and bottom. Bayonet-toting soldiers later escorted the nine Negro students into the school without any outbreak of violence.*

and impartial trial. Judge Davies refused to do so.

At the hearing on September 20, the lawyers for the State filed a motion to dismiss the action, which was denied; whereupon the Governor's attorneys withdrew from the case. An injunction was then issued by Judge Davies restraining the Governor from obstructing or using the National Guard to prevent Negro students from attending the high school. Governor Faubus complied with the injunction and withdrew the Guard from around Central High School.

Policing of the school was next assigned to the Little Rock Police Department, which stationed men on duty at the school September 23. On that day, a sizable mob of about three or four hundred formed in front of the school, seeking to prevent entrance of the Negro students. The students were able to gain admission as a result of the mob's being diverted by several Negro reporters, whom they set upon and beat severely. Several white reporters and cameramen were also assaulted. Jimmy Hicks, managing editor of the *New York Amsterdam News;* Alex Wilson of the *Tri-State Defender;* Mose Newson of the *Afro-American;* and Benjamin Fine of the *New York Times* were among those beaten by the mob. The mob grew to such proportions that by noon police and the school authorities removed the Negro students from the building and sent them home. Mrs. Bates announced that the NAACP would not send the children back



One of the Negroes who served as a decoy while nine Negro students entered the Central High School on September 23 is knocked to the ground by the crowd outside the school.

United Press

United Press

As a paratrooper of the 101st Airborne Division stands watch in the background, two Negro students on their way to Central High on September 26 stop for a radio interview.

into the school unless better protection was assured.

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Hearing of the action of the mob on September 23, President Eisenhower issued the following statement and proclamation:

THE STATEMENT

I want to make several things very clear in connection with the disgraceful occurrences of today at Central High School in the city of Little Rock: They are:

1. The federal law and orders of a United States District Court, implementing the law, cannot be flouted with impunity by any individual, or any mob of extremists.

2. I will use the full power of the United States, including whatever force may be necessary, to prevent any obstruction of the law and to carry out the orders of the federal court.

3. Of course, every right-thinking citizen will hope that the American sense of justice and fair play will prevail in this case. It will be a sad day for this country—both at home and abroad—if school children can safely attend their classes only under the protection of armed guards.

4. I repeat my expressed confidence that the citizens of Little Rock and of Arkansas will respect the law and will not countenance violations of law and order by extremists.

THE PROCLAMATION

Whereas, certain persons in the state of Arkansas, individually and in unlawful assemblies, combinations and conspiracies, have wilfully obstructed the enforcement of orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to enrollment and attendance at public schools, particularly at Central High School, located in Little Rock school district, Little Rock, Ark., and

Whereas, such willful obstruction of justice hinders the execution of the laws of the state and of the United States, and makes it impracticable to enforce such laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and

Whereas, such obstruction of justice constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Con-

THURGOOD MARSHALL *(center) of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., chats with a group of the Negro students who attempted to enter the Little Rock Central High School on September 3 to be turned back by National Guard troops on the orders of Governor Orval Faubus.*

United Press

stitution of the United States and impedes the course of justice under those laws;

Now, therefore, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, under and by the virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including Chapter 13 of Title 10, of the United States Code, particularly sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom, and to disperse forthwith. . . .

PARATROOPERS MOVE IN

On September 24, the President ordered one thousand paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division into Little Rock. With the aid of these troops, integration was achieved the next day. No mob was permitted to form; the paratroopers carrying out their duties struck one man with a rifle butt in the head when he attempted to grab a soldier's weapon, and nicked another one on the arm. After the second week, bayonets were removed.

There was some question in the minds of the mayor, superintendent of schools, principal of Central High School and other civic leaders concerning the advisability of the students re-entering on the 25th. However, Major General Edwin A. Walker informed the officials that he would be able to carry out the orders to protect the children and insisted upon their being sent to school the next day. Between the hours of 12:30 and 3:00 A.M. on the morning of the 25th, Mrs. Bates and two Negro principals visited the homes of all the students, advising them to assemble at her home the next morning. At 9:15 A.M. a detail of soldiers picked them up at Mrs. Bates' home and took them to the high school in an army station wagon. That procedure has been followed each day with the children being returned to the Bates' home in the afternoon.

On September 25, General Walker addressed the student body at Central High School, explaining the presence of the troops. He gave them the historical background to the Supreme Court's decision, pointing out that this decision "is binding upon all citizens and government offices both state and federal and may not, under our law, be changed except by an amendment to the Constitution." He told the students that states maintaining separate schools had to revise their system because of this decision and explained the Little Rock school plan which had been approved by the District Court and Circuit Court of Appeals. Asking the question, "What does all this mean to you students?", he concluded that it means "We are governed by laws, properly decided upon by duly constituted authority, and not by the decrees of one man or one class of men. Since this is true, it means that we are all subject to all the laws whether we approve of them personally or not, and as law abiding citizens, have an obligation in conscience to obey them. There can be no exceptions; if it were otherwise, we would not be a strong nation but a mere unruly mob." He also told the students that he intended "to use all means necessary to prevent any interference with the execution of your school board's plan." Only a few students walked

out after the General's address.

PRESIDENT ADDRESSES NATION

That evening, President Eisenhower addressed the nation over radio and TV, reviewing his action in Little Rock and the reasons for taking such drastic means to effect integration. He pointed out that "certain misguided persons, many of them imported into Little Rock by agitators, have insisted upon defying the law and have sought to bring it into disrepute. The orders of the court have thus been frustrated." He also indicated that unless the President enforced the decisions of the federal courts, anarchy would result, declaring that the nation faced a grave situation abroad and "it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence, and indeed to the safety of our nation and the world.

"Our enemies are gloating over this incident and using it everywhere to misrepresent our whole nation." He called upon the citizens of Little Rock "to assist in bringing to an immediate end all interference with the law and its processes," promising if resistance ceases "the further presence of federal troops will be unnecessary and the city of Little Rock will return to its normal habits of peace and order and a blot upon the fair name and high honor of our nation in the world will be removed."

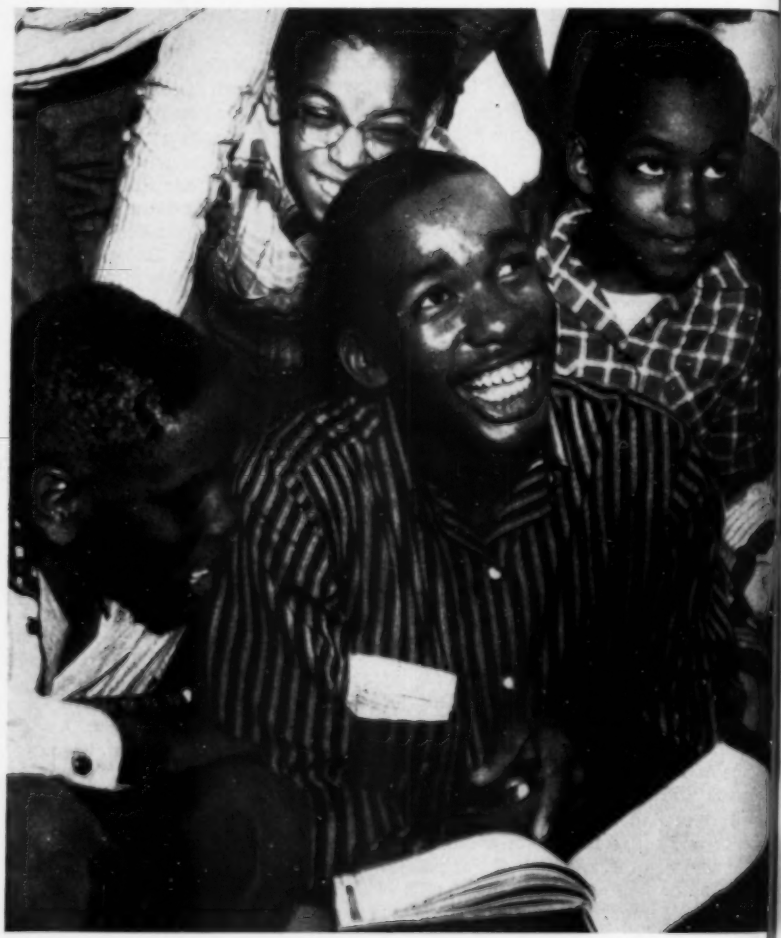
In a telegram to the President, the parents of the nine Negro children thanked the President for his action in sending in the troops, saying: "Now as never before we have an abiding feeling of belonging and purposefulness. We believe that the freedom and equality with which all men are endowed at birth can be maintained only through freedom and equality of opportunity for self-development, growth and purposeful citizenship." The President sent a warm letter of encouragement to each parent in reply.

Throughout the Little Rock crisis, the NAACP in Arkansas played a prominent part. The president of the State Conference, Mrs. Daisy Bates, gave continued leadership to the students, parents, and the community. Clarence Laws, NAACP field secretary, was assigned to the Little Rock area indefinitely to assist in handling public relations and other tasks.

The Negro students at all times conducted themselves in an exemplary manner, enduring epithets, altercations in the halls, and considerable verbal abuse. When interviewed by the press and on radio and TV, they gave cogent, well thought-out statements.

ATTACKS ON NAACP

With integration achieved through support of the federal government, the segregationists turned their attacks upon the NAACP. The Arkansas State Attorney General, Bruce Bennett, political opponent of Faubus, forwarded to each municipality a copy of a proposed ordinance suggesting its adoption. The ordinance, similar to some of the state laws which have been passed, aimed at the NAACP, would require certain organizations to furnish, upon request of the mayor, alderman, city clerk or city attorney, within 15 days after request, the name of the organization, office, place of business, meeting place, names of officers, agents, servants, employees and



United Press

HAPPY DAY FOR HIM—*Ernest Green (center), a senior at Central High School, Little Rock, Arkansas, shows off his school books to friends, September 25, after he and eight other Negro youngsters spent their first full day at the newly-integrated school under the protection of paratroops from the 101st Airborne Division.*

salaries, purpose or purposes, financial statements including dues, fees, contributions, and an affidavit stating whether the organization is subordinate to a parent organization. Violation of the provisions of the ordinance would subject an organization to a fine of $50 to $250, and each day of the violation constitutes a separate offense. The city council would have the power to seek injunctive relief under its provisions.

On Monday, October 14, the ordinance was adopted by the Little Rock and North Little Rock City Councils. Mayor Mann signed the ordinance on Tuesday, and on October 15 immediately directed the NAACP, and segregationist organizations, the Capital Citizens Council, the Freedom Fund and the League of High School Mothers, to submit information as required by the ordinance.

LITTLE ROCK LESSONS

A number of lessons are to be learned from the Little Rock situation, which at this writing is still one of crisis:

1. It is clear, from the opposition to the Little Rock plan, that segregationist groups will offer as much resistance to token integration as they will to full integration. In Charlotte, Nashville, and Little Rock, where conflict arose in the fall of 1957, the school boards were integrating on a piecemeal basis. Even small doses of integration will not placate the segregationists.

2. There must be more community discussion prior to the inauguration of a school board's integration plan. Not only should every media of public communication be used—press, radio, TV, etc.—but the parents and students involved should be brought into the discussion, together, in order to dispel fears and to explain to them the legal and moral bases for integration.

3. The religious groups, which belatedly got into action at the suggestion of President Eisenhower and held a prayer meeting on Saturday, October 12, have a great responsibility to take a stand early in the integration program, at the time decisions are being made by the school board, and should assist with community education before and not *just after* a crisis.

4. The NAACP should not be forced to carry the battle alone, but should be assisted by other groups in the community, white and Negro, which believe in democracy. Too often in the past, the NAACP branch or state conference has been played off against the local White Citizens Councils and other segregationist groups, while the so-called "moderates" and "liberals" take a "plague on both your houses" attitude.

FUTURE HOPEFUL

One of the most hopeful results of the Little Rock crisis is that the federal government has taken a firm and positive stand *at long last* on school integration, and defined in a set of principles what its position will be. In these principles it was pointed out that the Executive Branch of the federal government does not participate in the formulation of plans effecting integration, this function being left to

(*Continued on page* 580)

Press Praises Courage of Negro Pupils

THE courage and the dignity of Negro students in Little Rock, Arkansas, and elsewhere in the South have won wide commendation from the nation's press and from individuals throughout the country.

President Eisenhower paid tribute to them in his statement of September 21 on the Little Rock crisis when he said: "All parents must have a sympathetic understanding of the ordeal to which the nine Negro children who have been prevented from attending Central High School have been subjected. They and their parents have conducted themselves with dignity and with restraint."

Life magazine in its issue of September 30 published on its editorial page a letter from Professor J. B. Rhine of Duke University in Durham, North Carolina: "Thank you for recording for history the account in word and picture of these brave Negro kids going off to face the mob waiting for them at the schoolhouse. "Brave they must be, for they know they will be taunted with abuse that will hurt more than physical injury itself. . . . I cannot recall that there has even been a more inspiring demonstration of courage by the children of any race, in any age. . . . Their example is at least one redeeming feature in all this horrid chapter of our country's history."

Following are other editorials, in whole or in part:

Montreal (Canada) *Star*: "Where they [Negro youngsters] get the sheer guts to go through with it, we don't know. Nor is it easy to imagine the soul-searching that their parents went through before letting the children step into such a maelstrom of terror. . . . What sort of dedication does a man—or more important, a youngster—need to face the stones of a crowd, their knives or guns or clubs, of being cornered by a mob of vicious whites egged on by screaming viragos who resemble women?

New York *Post* (by Max Lerner): "It is a fearful price for the young to pay. . . . For those whom it doesn't destroy it can be a creative experience. The night before Elizabeth Eckford went to school, at Little Rock, she read the lines in the Psalms, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my Life; of whom Shall I fear?' "

Los Angeles *Mirror-News*: "One thing in the story from Little Rock sticks in our mind. In the face of a jeering crowd, a 15-year-old Negro girl walked alone. . . . That takes courage in a mature person, let alone a teen-ager."

Boston *Evening Globe*: "Who can be without sympathy . . . for the Negro children involved? These innocent but incredibly courageous victims of an impasse not of their own making are sustaining, in their most sensitive years, an outpouring of scalding scorn and vituperation . . . that no man should ever suffer."

St. Paul (Minn.) *Pioneer-Press*: "Moral courage of a high order was shown by the Negro students who quietly and calmly presented themselves for enrollment and ignored the threats, curses and jeers of the crowd which the Faubus troops attracted and stimulated. These youngsters, and others like them elsewhere in the South, are a credit to their country. The vicious, law-defying attitude of those arrayed against them brings shame to Americans everywhere."

Des Moines (Iowa) *Tribune*: "The lonely heroism of the Negro children who brave rocks and jeers and howling mobs to go to school . . . is one of the great sagas of our age. . . . Stones can bruise, stones can kill, but a child can get keyed up to face death like a veteran. The hurt inside is deeper. . . . Behind the tormentors' ugly obsessions and still uglier behavior, they see the kindly neighbors they have half-known all along."

Letters from readers appearing in New York newspapers included these, some of which are excerpts: "Anyone who has seen with what forebodings any normal child approaches commencing a new and different school, even when he should reasonably anticipate only the most cordial and understanding reception from his fellows and from the school administration, can imagine the bravery of these other kids. . . . I don't know the specifications used by the Carnegie Committee in making their annual heroism awards, but I would like to nominate for consideration these First Children of the Land."—Robert E. Lawther.

"It [Little Rock] bares to the world the valiant struggle of little colored children to preserve and strengthen the democracy that others would destroy."—E.A.

"Their [Negro children] calm and dignified behavior served as a striking contrast to the vicious character of the fear- and hate-filled mob. . . . Maybe they were scared inside. What hero isn't?"—William E. Monaghan.

"The picture in the newspapers of that poor girl holding her head high and brave while being followed and spat upon and called ugly names by supposed Americans reminded me of Nathan Hale. And I cried."—Louis Gerzog.

"The word inferiority has always been used as a defense, held up as a banner, to prove that there is and never will be more than one culture. As I look at the pictures taken in Little Rock . . . and other towns with the same problem and see the dignity and determination of the unwanted and see the scorn and hatred on the faces in the crowd, I find the real meaning of the word inferiority."—Marjorie Johnson.

"The Negro school children . . . after all are braving the same type of

contumely that my Pilgrim ancestors faced before they followed the Mayflower pioneers to this untouched land, and that my German ancestors sought to escape in 1848. In a way their burden was easier to bear. There was a new land for them to settle. . . . Twenty-five year from now I believe that a significant part of the leadership of our country—the leadership of which there is never enough—will be found among those children who have walked with schoolbooks under their arms . . . with booing crowds behind them."—Stowell Rounds.

GROUP of Laurel, Mississippi, youth council members and (bottom) the council chorus.

The Nation's Press on Governor Faubus and Little Rock

Some Editorial Excerpts

Knoxville, Tennessee, Journal

The more thoughtful citizen will be distressed, no matter what his personal viewpoint on the integration question may be, by the posture of defiance on the part of one part of our governmental system toward another, because the obvious conclusion is that there is in this contest once again the question of the preservation of the Union no different in its essentials from that which spilled the blood of the country 95 years ago.

Washington, D. C., Star

The Governor, it seems to us, is getting himself into a very uncomfortable situation for a politician.

Pensacola, Florida, Journal

It is unthinkable that federal force be employed, as in Reconstruction days, but it also is unthinkable that a state defy the Supreme Court and the law of the land and that force be employed in support of that defiance.

Washington, D. C., News

Whatever Gov. Orval Eugene Faubus had in mind, including politics, he has become the principal disturber of domestic tranquility in the state of Arkansas.

Springfield, Mo., Leader & Press

Unquestionably, Governor Faubus has made a hero of himself with a large body of the pro-segregationists of the South, but to those who would give him a hero's halo, we'd like to suggest a challenge: Hasn't the governor sworn to uphold the federal constitution as well as the constitution of Arkansas? Is there any way in which open defiance of a federal court order can be construed as upholding federal law?

Chattanooga, Tenn., News-Free Press

Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus' calling of the National Guard to preserve order and *prevent integration* at Little Rock's Central high school is a gigantic bluff, which so far he has backed to the hilt.

Kingsport, Tenn., Times & News

There is not much question that the governor will have the support of a large number of people, particularly those who do not reckon the possible results of his action. It is not so certain that he will have the support of other state leaders.

Dallas, Texas, Dallas News

As things stand, calling out the National Guard to prevent nine Negro students from entering a 2,000-student high school must be regarded as a classic example of interposition of state power between state officials and federal power. Interposition, therefore, faces its constitutional and practical test.

Longview, Texas, News

Governor Faubus knows what he is doing, and he knows what has been brewing in Little Rock under the pressure of the four horsemen of integration—Richard Nixon, Paul Hoffman, Harold Stassen, and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Chattanooga, Tenn., News-Free Press

Gov. Faubus of Arkansas has based his call of the National Guard in Little Rock on his responsibility to maintain peace and order. That he has successfully done. He also has prevented forced integration, and thus has been severely castigated by federal authorities and by integrationists throughout the country.

Tampa, Florida, Morning Tribune

The action of the guard shows that Faubus transgressed beyond the scope of his duty and his authority. His job was to maintain the peace, even to the point of closing the school if necessary, but the determination of what students were to enter the school was the province of the school board and the courts.

Nashville, Tenn., Tennessean

That Governor Faubus actually believes his position can be long maintained must be doubted, but he may have reasoned that he will find political benefits in any outcome.

Baltimore, Md., Sun (Evening)

It is a difficult problem to deal with. Mr. Faubus has obviously put himself in the wrong. He is interfering with a move initiated by local Little Rock officials—the School Board—to carry out the desegregation ruling of the Supreme Court.

Jackson, Miss., News

Gov. Faubus, of Arkansas, is strictly within his legal rights to use National Guardsmen to prevent trouble in the public schools of Little Rock.

Florence, S. C., News

The situation in Arkansas at the moment points up the wrong of attempting to solve this deeply emotional, highly explosive problem by force of law.

St. Louis, Mo., Globe-Democrat

Gov. Faubus has sought to create a showdown issue between federal and state's rights in the racial matter. But Gov. Faubus' action did not support law. It appears to have been unnecessary to buttress peace and order.

Newport News, Va., Times Herald

Whatever else may be said about the goings-on in Little Rock, Arkansas, we can't get excited about the jittery conclusion that what is happening there is doing us irreparable damage abroad. That sort of argument is raised every time some domestic problem arises in the United States that generates friction like that resulting from the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

Jacksonville, Fla., Journal

Events in tense Little Rock have proved that Gov. Faubus was correct in his fear that violence was in the offing on the day that integration came to Central High.

Fayetteville, N. C., Observer

The vultures of violence turned loose by the Supreme Court's opinion have come home to roost.

Birmingham, Ala., News

For our part, we find it unthinkable that Gov. Faubus acted in what could properly be called "defiance" of federal authority. We accept his reiterated statement that he acted to preserve peace, not against integration as such.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Enquirer

It is easy to understand how knots of mischiefmakers may precipitate disorders. There are rowdies and bullies and fanatics in almost any community. There are little people, frustrated people, whose easiest way to feel important in their own eyes is to be able to look down on others of another color. Such people cannot be expected to understand the overriding authority of the federal judiciary or the constitutional concepts underlying the desegregation order.

But the Governor of a state cannot be excused on such grounds.

Indianapolis, Ind., Star

Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus has split the integration question squarely down the middle and left the unpalatable kernel for the nation to digest.

Anderson, Ind., Herald

America itself is on trial, in many ways, every September as new areas seek to apply the Supreme Court's desegregation order. The Arkansas example of a governor who employs troops within his command to defy the federal government is scarcely a wholesome one—for our own people or for our world neighbors.

Elizabeth, N. J., Journal

In this fanatical exhibition of antebellum sentiment, thoroughly contrary to the governor's own background and career as a liberal, Mr. Faubus also is manufacturing ammunition for the broadsides of our enemies in the cold war. The communist world coaches the black and the brown and the yellow peoples in other lands that America betrays its talk of equality among its inhabitants by the very type of offense now occurring in Little Rock.

Boston, Mass., Herald

The Arkansan is in the wrong. There is no doubt of that. His use of National guardsmen to prevent Negroes from entering an integrated school is a clear violation of the principles laid down by the Supreme Court three years ago.

Denver, Colo., Post

From the facts now at hand, the governor's actions appear to have been impulsive, unwarranted and deliberately provocative. He has revealed himself as a stooge of militant minorities aligned with bigots to trample civil rights in a phony defense against imaginary evils. Arkansas deserves better.

Lewiston, Me., Sun

But regardless of the eventual outcome, there is ample reason to believe that the chief loser in this struggle will be not the Negroes, not the white-supremacy radicals or the city of Little Rock, but Gov. Faubus himself.

East St. Louis, Ill., Journal

It is now clear that Gov. Faubus of Arkansas is determined to defy the school desegregation decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court. It is also clear that he has agreed to let Arkansas become the testing ground for a line of

action long advocated by Southern segregationists. The governor may delay desegregation in Little Rock for another year. But he will not be able to prevent the eventual integration of public schools.

Boston, Mass., Record

Thinking about the dispute at Little Rock and trying hard to understand the positions of both sides, it appears to us the original mistake was made by Governor Faubus in calling out the National Guard when there was no need to do so.

Goshen, Ind., News

It is just a little strange, therefore, to find today the governor of a southern state calling out state troops to prevent the enforcement of federal law.

Philadelphia, Pa., Bulletin

Just what motivated the Governor forcibly to intervene in Little Rock to prevent what has been peaceably taking place in other communities is still a mystery. His excuse that he did so to preserve law and order is very thin. But if that was part of his reason it would seem logical that he should proceed against those who were threatening to defy the law rather than against those who were obeying it.

New York City, N. Y., Journal American

Thinking about the dispute at Little Rock and trying hard to understand the positions of both sides, it appears to us the original mistake was made by Governor Faubus in calling out the National Guard when there was no need to do so.

New York City, N. Y., Wall St. Journal

For what we are observing in Arkansas—and what makes it such a terrible political question—is not something simple and clear-cut. It is rather a clash between different Constitutional rights. And "the right" lies upon both sides.

Glens Falls, N. Y., Post-Star

There should, however, be a clear understanding written into the basic law that the governor or executive authority of any state cannot employ the National Guard to inhibit the execution of federal laws or court decrees.

Lima, Ohio, The Lima Citizen

Gov. Orval Eugene Faubus has set back the cause of civil rights by many months.

Schenectady, N. Y., Union-Star

If the Governor of Arkansas weren't a shrewd politician the situation he created in Little Rock over school integration could be called unfortunate bumbling. The indications are, however, that he deliberately chose to defy the federal courts and summon what he calls the "me-lish-ee" for personal political reasons.

Bethlehem, Pa., Globe-Times

The resistance of Governor Faubus, the catcalls and ugly demonstrations of his followers, the unfortunate bombing in Nashville where desegregation was progressing nicely are all actions which cannot conceivably have the support of the majority of the southern people.

Alamogordo, N. M., News

Regardless of our sentiment on integration, and regardless of the right or wrong of the matter, the governor is wrong in feeling that he can violate the United States government.

■ **Some enlightening facts which show what an NAACP branch can do in a school zoning situation**

Concrete Curtain—the East Palo Alto Story

By Rachelle Marshall

AN anonymous letter sent to the Palo Alto, California, branch of NAACP last April set off a chain of events last summer that may have made more than local history. This is essentially the story of a racially-mixed community that actually did battle in order to resist becoming a ghetto. Lacking cross burnings, White Citizens' Councils and personal victimization, the East Palo Alto story may nevertheless set a precedent in the North's struggle with the race problem.

The locale was the southern portion of the sprawling Sequoia Union high school district, which encompasses a large part of San Mateo county and runs from the city limits of Palo Alto up the peninsula to South San Francisco. By next September the district will have five high schools of 2,000 pupils each.

MRS. RACHELLE MARSHALL *is corresponding secretary and publicity chairman of the Palo Alto-Stanford, California, branch of the NAACP.*

San Mateo, one of the wealthiest counties in the nation, slopes from San Francisco Bay up into the wooded coastal range and down the other side to the Pacific. On the way, it takes in the commuter towns of Burlingame, Hillsborough, and Belmont; the estate country of Atherton and Woodside; and the solid middle-class city of Menlo Park. Economic status tends to follow the contour of the land. Whatever slums there are, are on the bay flats; here, too, are the acres of identical $8,000 bungalows. Property values rise steadily as one goes toward the west and the hills.

The area closest to the bay is actually cut off from the rest of the county by a six-lane freeway, U.S. 101, sometimes known as "Bloody Bayshore" because of its "high-speed" sccidents. The area on the bay side of this highway is unincorporated East Palo Alto.

The large migration of Negro families to the bay area peninsula during the last few years has been

almost totally confined to East Palo Alto, since it is virtually impossible for Negroes to buy or rent in the white neighborhoods of Palo Alto or Menlo Park. This migration was due largely to the enterprise of real estate firms which took full page advertisements in San Francisco Negro newspapers urging readers to move to the peninsula, while simultaneously encouraging panic-selling by white property owners because "Negroes were moving in."

Most of the homes that thus changed hands are in a tract called Belle Haven, a tight, triangular network of about twenty streets, with houses that sold originally for about $8,000. The Negro population of Belle Haven is about 75 per cent and still growing. In other parts of East Palo Alto there are a few exclusively white neighborhoods but several are composed of scattered Negro, Mexican, Japanese-American, and Italian families. (One white American woman claimed that she and her husband live in East Palo Alto because it was the only area on the peninsula that provided "real life" for their children.)

ATTENDANCE BOUNDARY SET

Last year the Sequoia Union high school board of trustees authorized construction of a new high school in East Palo Alto, and in the winter of 1957 set the attendance boundary for the school along Bayshore highway. The effect was to enclose in the new district all of East Palo Alto, plus a few sparsely inhabited acres near the boundary of Palo Alto. At that time (and until the new school is completed) East Palo Alto students were attending Menlo-Atherton high school, which serves Menlo Park and Atherton.

Because news of the high school board's decision was published on the inside pages of the two local newspapers as part of their routine school news, there was little apparent stir from the community at large.

Early in April, however, an anonymous letter to the NAACP claimed that the high-school board's action on the boundary was consciously taken in order to separate the non-white and poor white students from the Menlo-Atherton school and to pocket them once and for all in a single high school of their own in East Palo Alto. As a routine action the NAACP executive board authorized one of its members, Norman Howard, to form a small committee to look into the situation. Howard, a young white attorney who lives in East Palo Alto, and his committee, met the following week with Mrs. Rae Caplan, chairman of the Sequoia Union high school board, and Dr. Rex Turner, district superintendent.

Both Turner and Mrs. Caplan told Howard's committee that racial and economic factors had never entered into their decision, but that the boundaries had been set according to five well established criteria: distance from homes to schools, estimated school population, minimum bus transportation, the advisability of keeping elementary school populations together, and the avoidance of major traffic arteries within a school district.

Howard's committee then met with Leonard Menard, a full-time representative of the American

Friends Service Committee who is paid to look into social problems that arise in the bay area. Menard was of the opinion that while the boundaries may have been set in good faith, that there was also considerable pressure from west-of-Bayshore residents to set them where they were; Menard also said he had been alarmed about potential danger arising from the newly created attendance lines.

AREA EXPLORATION

The committee studied maps, explored the area itself, and within a few weeks came up with the conclusion that the attendance boundaries for the new high school would effectively make Menlo-Atherton an all-white, high-income-group high school, and give the East Palo Alto school a disproportionately large number of Negro students. In an official report to the regional NAACP office, Howard's committee declared that such a separation of youth would breed race prejudice, deny students a sufficiently broad social experience, and would hasten the development of a residential ghetto east of Bayshore. The latter was a telling point. Until now, many white property owners have withstood pressure from realtors to sell their homes. With their children attending Menlo-Atherton, many residents looked at the area simply as a less expensive fringe of Menlo Park. But the new district lines cut an important tie with the west side of the highway and in effect served to isolate East Palto Alto. In this situation many white families could be expected to yield to pressures to sell, and few white families would buy.

The NAACP committee decided to ask for a study, by competent experts, of the area involved, and a redrawing of the boundaries on the basis of the experts' recommendations.

Early in June, Dr. Turner called a meeting of East Palo Alto citizens in order to explain the reasoning behind the boundary decision. Both he and Mrs. Caplan had previously expressed their concern and real bewilderment to the NAACP committee over the growing, but as yet quiet rumblings of protest from East Palo Alto. (They had good reason for concern. A badly needed bond issue was scheduled for a vote in October and in the past East Palo Alto has voted overwhelmingly for additional school funds.)

On the afternoon of the meeting date Howard, Menard, and several peninsula civic leaders met in Turner's office. They urged him strongly to reconsider the boundary lines, using social and economic criteria in re-drawing the borders. Turner told them he would pass their suggestion on to the board but make no recommendation.

COMPLAINTS AIRED

That evening about 60 East Palo Altans met to air their complaints to the superintendent. Roughly a third of the group were Negroes, and those who spoke pointed out that Belle Haven was actually closer to Menlo-Atherton than to the new school, since a new pedestrian overpass over Bayshore highway linked the Belle Haven tract directly with the west side. Turner, surprisingly,

claimed ignorance of the new overpass and agreed to take the information to the board.

White citizens took two main tacks in their comments. The first of these was expressed most succinctly by one woman: "It certainly looks like integration is here to stay, but why must we have it all in one school?"

The second revealed a disquieting situation, a feeling on the part of many that East Palo Alto was already a "stigmatized" area because of its minority families and lower income groups, and that enclosing the area within its own district would cut it off forever from "the other side of the highway," with all that this implies. They were particularly concerned for their children, whose social life would naturally center around high school friendships.

Dr. Turner promised, noncommitally, to pass these comments on to the board. The next board meeting was scheduled for June 26.

On June 24 a meeting was called in East Palo Alto by a small group of older residents. Fifty people of both races turned up to discuss the situation and to take action. "We've been coming home from work every night and stewing about this by ourselves," one man explained. "Now we figure we might as well get together and do something." An interracial seven-man steering committee, including Norman Howard, was elected to present East Palo Alto's case before the board.

On the 26th nearly 200 people accompanied the committee to the board meeting and sat patiently while the district's other business was disposed of. Then Mrs. Caplan threw the meeting open for public discussion. One after another, members of the audience stood up and pleaded for a restudy of the boundary lines so as to assure a more balanced student body in each school. "We might as well face it," a member of the East Palo Alto committee said bluntly, "this is a problem of segregation. What's been done is a social injustice."

USE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRITERIA

On the question of using social and economic criteria in setting school boundaries, the board stood pat with a firm and unanimous no. Board member David Sears, a psychiatrist, said: "We will be letting ourselves in for an indeterminate amount of future difficulty if we consider the boundary on a socio-economic basis." John A. Cost added: "This would be putting our noses in something that does not concern us."

They quickly and unanimously approved, however, a recommendation by Turner that the boundary line be restudied in view of the new pedestrian overpass near Belle Haven. There the meeting ended, but the next day and for several days afterward the boundary issue, with its racial implications, was front page news in the local newspapers.

The East Palo Alto committee met again early in July and drew up a carefully worded petition calling for Willow Road, rather than Bayshore, as the boundary for the new school. Since Willow bisects Bayshore, the effect would have been to place half of East Palo Alto in each district along with a large area west of Bay

shore. The petition read, in part: "Willow Road satisfies the five criteria set forth by the board for determining attendance areas, and in addition has the important advantage of offering the students of both schools the educational benefits gained from integration through better distribution of the students of the district by race and income." 3700 people signed during the two weeks before the July 24 board meeting.

Meanwhile the NAACP, which had been fairly inactive after the spark had caught fire among East Palo Alto residents, issued a public statement of its own, specifying no particular boundary but again asking for a restudy by experts in sociology and education. The statement once again called attention to possible consequences arising from an all-white high school and a predominantly Negro school ranged on either side of a "concrete curtain." "While it can be argued," the statement said, "that it is not the board's duty to remedy social ills, it seems to us that it would be an act of criminal irresponsibility to intensify those ills."

BOARD MEETING JAMMED

Three hundred persons jammed the board meeting on July 24 to argue the case once more and to hear the final decision. Ferris Miles, an automobile dealer, who had replaced Mrs. Caplan as chairman, opened the meeting by reading a statement of the board's policy, which said in part:

"The Board and Superintendent are aware that there are social-economic problems; they have considered these carefully and feel that they would like to do something to influence the attitudes of society. Attitudes, however, can be changed only through the education of the people and will not be modified by manipulation of attendance areas. . . .

"Public education has been and is under constant pressure to expand its areas of responsibility. There is a very definite limit to what the schools can and should do. The prime responsibility of a school board is to provide an equal educational opportunity for all children. . . ."

Later Howard commented from the floor that the policy statement could well have been used in behalf of a separate-but-equal plea against desegregation in the South. The board and Turner were obviously moved to angry resentment by the implication that they were consciously establishing segregation. But as the temper of the meeting rose, several citizens from the west side of the highway spoke in defense of the existing line. Their main thesis was that the present boundary was justified not only by geography, but by the fact that the west side had "common interests" not shared by the east. Many East Palo Altans interpreted "common interests" to mean a white skin and a healthy bank account.

Finally, after three hours of discussion Turner recommended a change, as he had promised to do, based on the new overpass. Its effect was to include the northern corner of Belle Haven in the Menlo-Atherton district, thus sending about 35 per cent of Belle Haven's students across Bayshore. To compensate for

this excess population at Menlo-Atherton a roughly equal number of children would be sent from the western part of Menlo Park to a high school in Woodside.

The board accepted his recommendation with alacrity. But in expressing her support Mrs. Caplan went to the microphone to make a special statement: "I have made my decision only after much soul-searching," she said with evident feeling. "I have lived with this problem night and day."

DECISION PRAISED

Several letters have since appeared in the newspapers praising the decision. "We will now have two fine integrated schools," said one. The *Palo Alto Times*, editorially, congratulated the school board for its "reasonable compromise."

But the NAACP and the East Palo Alto committee are apparently as dissatisfied as ever. "Belle Haven was dissected as no all-white neighborhood ever would have been," Howard said after the board meeting. "The token handful of Negro students in a big high school may very well become an unassimilated lump in a sea of white kids. And the decision leaves the East Palo Alto school just as it was before, with virtually no white students from upper income families. Whether we gained anything at all is really questionable."

Not so questionable, however, is the fact that considerable gains may have resulted to the community as a whole. East Palo Alto has seen the birth of effective interracial cooperation and a new community spirit. On the other hand this spirit will be desperately needed in order to offset a possible decline in the area. In refusing to influence community patterns the school board failed to see that their action may have done just that. The influence of school and neighborhood is often an interacting one; the effects of enclosing an area of growing minority population within its own district will undoubtedly become apparent over the next few years unless some extraordinary resistance is taken against the natural pressures.

Elsewhere on the peninsula these expanding implications of the North's civil rights problem were revealed clearly and dramatically for perhaps the first time. More people here than ever before have realized that problems considered peculiar to the unenlightened South can, and do, crop up at home and in every town in the nation. Mrs. Caplan was undoubtedly not the only peninsula citizen who was moved to soul-searching this spring.

"Thou shouldst not decide until thou hast heard what both have to say."

Aristophanes: *The Wasps*

GOVERNOR AVERELL HARRIMAN *and Jackie Robinson take time out from the Albany, New York, NAACP luncheon to congratulate Bob Haith of the Albany Black Sox Baseball Team of the Albany Daylight League who won the most valuable player award of the League. Bob is employed in the Governor's office in Albany.*

Oscar Nickerson, a member of the NAACP for over 40 years, explains why he believes in and supports the Association at one of the neighborhood meetings sponsored by the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, branch.

Philadelphia branch vice-president George Morris explains the NAACP program and goals at a neighborhood meeting held in North Philadelphia.

Edward Roberts escorts his son, Gustavus Roberts, to the Central High School of Charlotte, North Carolina. Young Roberts was one of the Negroes enrolled in this previously all-white school.

Rev. Charles H. Smith leads the audience in prayer at a Philadelphia branch neighborhood meeting. Calvin D. Banks, NAACP branch field secretary, stands at Rev. Smith's left.

Jackie Robinson congratulates James Shelton, Sr. (R), at the Chicago Freedom Fund Dinner, on his $500 life membership in the Association. Sylvester Jones of the Chicago branch looks on.

Leroy Crayton (right) presents $500 NAACP life-membership check to Mrs. Dovie Sweet of the Cleveland, Ohio, branch as Roy Wilkins looks on. Occasion was kick-off meeting of 1957 membership campaign of Cleveland branch, October 13, with Mr. Wilkins as guest speaker.

WHAT DOES YOUR CONSCIE

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN — DR. BENJAMIN MAYS

Co-Chairmen

Kelly Alexander
Bishop W. Y. Bell
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Mrs. K. Watson Coleman
Earl B. Dickerson
Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick
Morton S. Grossman
Dr. Ralph Harlow
Carl Johnson
Dr. Mordecai Johnson
Robert H. Johnson
Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman
Dr. James J. McClendon
Dr. Maurice Rabb
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
J. J. Simmons, Jr.
Ike Smalls
A. Maceo Smith
Dr. Channing H. Tobias

BE WHISPER?

Ask yourself: "Have I *really* done my part in the struggle for racial equality? Have I *actively* supported the cause of full-scale citizenship for the Negro?" Remember — the goal of the NAACP is an America of equality, justice, and freedom for all —a land in which no one is either favored or penalized because of his race, color, religion or national origin. When you join the NAACP as a life member, you can look yourself in the eye with a clear conscience, for this great organization is the strongest, most effective instrument ever created to fight the good fight for the underprivileged.

Annual installments of as little as $50 or more, sent to either your local branch of NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

Send to your local branch or the

N. A. A. C. P.

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

I wish to become a Life Member of the NAACP.

☐ I enclose check for $..... as first payment toward a Life Membership.

☐ I enclose check for $500 for full Life Membership.

Name.....

Address.....

City and State.....

Looking and Listening . . .

LITTLE ROCK

MINISTERIAL associations, church women and Christian student groups "deplored the disregard for national law" in some United States cities as public schools reopened in September. In official statements and telegrams to President Eisenhower and the governors concerned, they were outspoken in expressing "shock at the contempt for law and order."

Speaking for the Ministerial Association of Little Rock, where Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus called out the National Guard when Central High School opened, Association President, the Rev. Dunbar H. Ogden, appealed to citizens "to set a right example for every child of our community." Mr. Ogden was one of four white ministers who escorted Negro pupils to the school. In their statement, the Little Rock and North Little Rock Council of Church Women declared "enforced segregation is un-Christian."

Condemning "actions repugnant to the Christian principles held by the vast majority of responsibile Southerners," United Church Women of Atlanta, Georgia, nevertheless expressed their "heartfelt gratitude for the peaceful and orderly manner in which some communities are solving problems of school desegregation."

In Nashville, Tennessee, where a school was bombed, Protestant leaders joined in condemning acts of violence in that city and elsewhere and offered prayers "to restore a sound mind to members of this community."

As they concluded their 14th General Assembly in Wooster, Ohio, September 11, United Student Christian Council delegates sent telegrams to the governors of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Alabama urging "all lawful means of securing peaceful integration." The USCC is a unit of the National Council of Churches.

Other young people representing millions of the nation's Protestant youth in the United Christian Youth Movement, at their annual meeting at Estes Park, Colorado, directed their statement to President Eisenhower next day. Expressing concern for "those of our constituents caught in circumstances of tension," the UCYM asked the President to make a nation-wide TV address, visit areas of tension personally and call a White House conference of leaders of the states concerned.

Gladden Schrock of Napanee, Indiana, newly elected president of the UCYM—also a National Council unit—the same day sent urgent messages to local UCYM chapter presidents throughout the South. Reiterating the Christian commitment to the

brotherhood of all, he assured Southern student groups of the support of the organization in "undergirding those who are in need of strength in the midst of turmoil."

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN

GOVERNOR AVERELL HARRIMAN of New York broadcast, over Radio Station WLIB, New York City, the following comment on "the tragedy in Little Rock":

I am sure that most Americans are as deeply moved as I am by the tragic events in Little Rock during recent weeks, and by the wonderful courage shown by the Negro children there, in the face of both *official* and mob action to keep them out of school. They are the real heroes.

The tragedy in Little Rock, which has been so damaging to our country at home and abroad, was caused directly by the action of Governor Faubus in calling out the National Guard, not to enforce the orders of the federal court on integration, but to prevent them from being carried out. Because of this action, unhappily, racial tensions have been aroused not only in Little Rock but throughout the South.

There was no basis for this action by Governor Faubus. That has been testified to by the Mayor of Little Rock—also by the school board in Little Rock. They were elected on a program of complying with federal court integration orders. I am convinced that if Governor Faubus had cooperated with the court order integration would have been accomplished without any serious trouble. If there had been any attempted violence, the National Guard could have been used to put it down, just as was done by the Governor of Tennessee across the river.

When Governor Faubus defied the Constitution and the federal court orders, it was up to President Eisenhower to take a firm position at once and to speak out clearly for the conscience of America. . . .

Unfortunately, the President was complacent in this constitutional crisis. He tried to appease Governor Faubus. He received him at the vacation White House in Newport, posed with him for photographers in friendly fashion, and then the President issued a public statement in which he said:

'I am gratified by his constructive and cooperative attitude at our meeting. I have assured the Governor of the cooperation of federal officials.'

That was on September 14, when the Arkansas National Guard, on the Governor's orders, had for two weeks been keeping Negro children from attending the Little Rock high school. And the National Guard remained on that duty for a week longer, with no action by the President.

By his failure to speak out, by his complacency and his appeasement of Governor Faubus, the President failed to check, and in fact encouraged, those who were attempting to block peaceful integration in Little Rock and elsewhere. There is no doubt that by his vacillation in this crisis the President has set back the cause of integration everywhere.

Finally, of course, the President took the drastic step of sending federal troops into Little Rock, and we don't know how long they will have to stay. I am convinced this action would never have been necessary if he had taken a firm position immediately when the federal authority was defied by Governor Faubus. . . .

ENGLISH PRESS

THE English press headlined and editorialized the Little Rock Situation. Most of the papers published the shocking pictures of violence and mob hysteria on their front pages. Here are a few excerpts. Un-

der a banner headline, "Bayonets Get Them In," the *News Chronicle* (September 26) reports, from its American correspondent Bruce Rothwell:

A massive show of force by the crack 101st Airborne Division brought law and order back to Little Rock today.

So nine young Negroes were escorted —in silence—into the city's Central High School.

Their escort: 1,000 steel-helmeted troops with fixed bayonets sent last night by President Eisenhower to end mob violence in the capital of Arkansas.

There were sporadic side street fights. One white man was clubbed with a rifle butt and another bayoneted in the arm by soldiers.

Salesman Paul Downs got his arm wound for not obeying an order to move on.

'I'm from the South. I move kinda slow,' he said.

General Edwin Walter, Southern-born commander of the operation, said: 'There have been and there are scattered incidents. There won't be when I'm through.'

Several embittered groups trying to demonstrate were broken up at bayonet point.

Negro troops in the 1,000-man paratroop force were kept in the background.

Just before classes began two platoons of soldiers marched briskly across the school's grounds, sloped arms and took up positions.

Thirty more went into the school to keep order in the corridors. Detachments manned gun positions on the roof.

Loitering girls were hurried off from the corner drugstore. People driving by in cars shouted 'Heil.'

Dangerous gatherings were broken up. The paratroopers did not hesitate to use their bayonets to make their point.

General Walker addressed Little Rock white students before the Negroes were brought in.

Solemnly he began: 'Young ladies and gentlemen of Central High School. . . .'

All through the night the troop-carriers rumbled in from the airport with their young white and Negro troops in green battledress.

By the light of the tar-flares around their barricades you could see the questioning in their eyes as they brewed coffee and wondered their way through the empty hours until the dawn on just what this was all about.

Only the day before yesterday it had been the issue of integration versus segregation. But, now, it is that of the rule of law versus lawlessness.

Little Rock is a city of 120,000 people, but most of them were looking the other way this week when the mob knocked democracy to its knees.

They were only a thousand strong, men crazed with hate and women wild-eyed and hysterical, and no city ever willingly surrenders to such a mob; yet Little Rock did, and on every corner here last night you could find the gauleiter and the commissar but not the citizen; tension but scant tolerance; and no neutrals. . . .

Edwin Tetlow, special correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*, writes:

More than 1,000 United States paratroopers in full battle-kit ringed Little Rock's yellow brick Central High School to-day while nine Negro children, three boys and six girls, were hurried inside. It was a sight which will live long in American history, and will be long discussed.

The end of racial segregation in American schools, ordered by the United States Supreme Court, had come at last to Little Rock. It did so in the form of a military operation, a melancholy affair carried out with brisk effi-

ciency by troops with fixed bayonets and rifles at the ready.

Governors of the Southern States decided at their conference at Sea Island, Georgia, this afternoon to send a committee to Washington to confer with President Eisenhower on the withdrawal of troops from the Little Rock school "at the earliest possible moment. . . ."

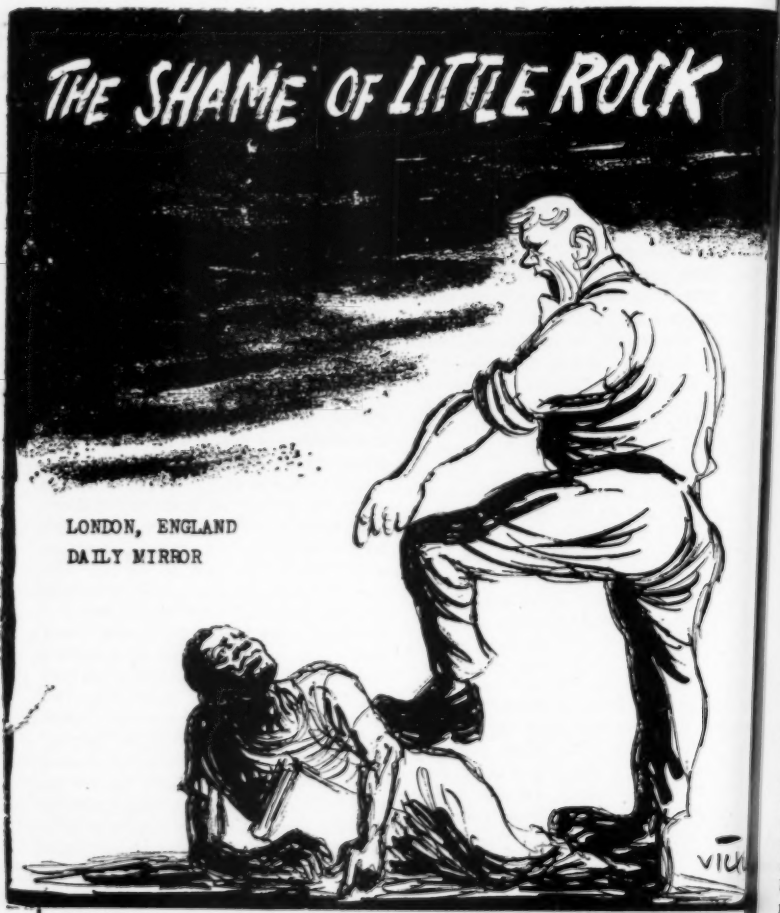
The Guardian (Manchester, England, September 26) editorializes:

'A national disaster,' Mr. Adlai Stevenson says. 'Our enemies are gloating,' President Eisenhower has told the nation. Both are right. Little Rock would be a grave and damaging incident even if America were as far away from the rest of the world as in Washington's day. It is much worse now that the United States has engaged her power and her reputation in every part of the world. Her friends are her safety, and she holds her friends by mutual regard as well as by mutual need: a blot on her reputation means a corrosive stain on her power. As Mr. Lippmann has written of Little Rock: 'We who have held our heads too stiffly and too high have stumbled and fallen on our faces.' This must be why President Eisenhower has acted so swiftly and severely after doing his best for weeks to let the tangle unravel itself with only the gentlest of prodding. He has used force; he has sent in Federal troops, as he is entitled to do, to outface a violent mob and enforce the law. What probably spurred him on was the picture that Little Rock held up to the world of a country swayed by lynch law. But he might have had to do this anyhow. Elsewhere city authorities that wished to obey the law (as Little Rock wished to obey it) were able to call upon the state for help. But the state of Arkansas was unable to help because its Governor had already misused his power and his armed force, the National Guard, in an attempt to frustrate the law. Hence, by one of those accidents of history, a state that was by no means among those worst bedevilled by racial troubles—that, indeed, was well on the way to settling what troubles it had—looked like becoming the chosen battleground. If, as has been reported, agitators from outside were coming into Little Rock to swell the violence, the President may have had no choice but to take over the state forces and send in his own.

Meanwhile Little Rock is not Budapest, Arkansas is not Hungary, the United States is not Judge Lynch's circuit. We have to say this, outrageously, obvious though it is. Two kinds of people are bent on proving the contrary. They are the Communists on the one hand and some Southern politicians on the other. . . .

These two voices, of course, protest against exactly opposite things. The Communists protest because a mob has defied the law and denied equal education to Negro children. The Southern die-hards protest because the President has enforced the law and ensured that Negro children get equal education with whites. The rest of us can note that the children are going to school, that the mob has been sent home, that the law rules. But we should look deeper. Race relations in America are the dark side of the moon. But the dark is thinning. Twenty years ago we should not have heard of riots outside the school at Little Rock because nobody would have conceived of sending Negro children there. Now we do not hear of riots in other places scattered between the Potomac and the Rio Grande; in some of those places Negro and white children are sitting in class together and there are no riots. Until yesterday Little Rock was not a symbol of the South. It was a rearguard action fought almost by accident, in the wrong place and for the wrong reason.

Now the President's intervention has changed matters. . . .



"Education, yeah? This'll teach you that I'm a superior human being!"

YMCA RACIAL PRACTICES

THE Commission on Interracial Policies and Program of the YMCA issues the following report on YMCA interracial practices:

Since its appointment in 1950, the Commission on Interracial Policies and Program has noted progressive advance in interracial practices in YMCAs throughout the United States. While these practices, in general, reflect those of the national scene, discrimination and segregation in local Associations are progressively diminishing. Each year more YMCAs are finding ways to serve the total constituency in a geographic area without color or racial restrictions. In some communities, YMCA interracial practices are in advance of other community practices; in others YMCAs have followed community trends; and there are some places where the interracial practices of the YMCA lag behind local practices.

Cases of racial discrimination and segregation in YMCAs are occasionally still being reported and publicized in the newspapers. Some of these reports have come from non-southern states, including: Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D. C. In these same communities, schools and other local activities and services are being conducted on an interracial basis.

Local YMCAs in states with high racial tensions retain rigid practices of racial segregation in their membership, program, and use of facilities. In general, where there is no branch for Negroes, they are excluded from YMCA services. In places where there are separate branches for Negroes, these branches are conforming to the "separate but equal" theory. While facilities have improved, YMCAs serving Negroes are generally inferior and inadequate.

The Southern Area Council continues to work to provide more and improved separate YMCA services for Negroes and to improve relationships between the branch primarily serving Negroes and the parent Association.

Many YMCA leaders from this Area are asking:

—What support can be given to local YMCA leaders who are penalized because they try to give leadership in the implementation of interracial practices?

—What support can be given to a local YMCA whose community support is threatened because the national body has a stated policy of non-segregation?

—What help can be given to YMCAs which want to move to interracial services in communities having a favorable climate already established?

While the climate for interracial practices in YMCAs of the South does present problems, there are many opportunities yet available to YMCA leaders to bring about better understanding between Negro and white members, committeemen, and staffs. Practices which can be adopted even in segregated YMCAs include:

—Negro and white secretaries meet in staff meetings.

—Branch has representation on board of directors.

—Representatives from branch are invited to all city-wide activities.

—Branch is recognized as an integral part of the city YMCA set-up.

—Representatives of branches are involved in all city-wide planning.

—Salary differentials based on race are eliminated.

—YMCA and branch are used as contact point between Negro and white leaders.

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

"POLITICAL ORPHANS"

THE supporters of Governor Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas are "political orphans with no established homes in which to seek refuge," NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins declared in an address delivered in Charlotte, North Carolina, on October 11, at the 14th annual convention of the North Carolina State Conference of NAACP Branches.

Neither major party, Mr. Wilkins declared, "can support the Governor's use of troops to defy a federal court order. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats will go before the American people on such a platform. . . . No, the major political parties can only face the people on a platform calling for the observance of law and order and respect for constituted authority."

The only political future for the segregationists, he asserted, "would seem to lie in the organization of a provincial political clique dedicated to the maintenance of an obsolescent way of life. Enlightened southerners recognize the futility of joining any such desperate cabal."

As to the ultimate impact of the Little Rock crisis on Negro voters, Mr. Wilkins declined to make any prediction. The Negro voter, he said, "has seen all the pictures from Little Rock. He knows the political affiliations of the leading actors in the drama. He knows who sent troops to do what. He has noted who supports whom. When he enters the polling place, it is certain he will weigh all these factors and the variety of others which affect his daily life."

Segregation, Mr. Wilkins charged, has proved costly to our country in the loss of manpower at a time when it is vitally needed for national security.

"As we face a ruthless and skillful adversary bent upon destroying our way of life, we must educate, train and utilize every ounce of manpower and every brain and skill we possess. It is axiomatic that the segregated school system does not provide that equality of opportunity demanded by our Constitution, or, now, urgently required by national security."

LITTLE ROCK

NAACP leaders in Little Rock are pondering what action to take in response to a demand by Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann for the list of members and other branch records in compliance with a recently enacted

city ordinance which requires filing of such information with the city clerk.

The measure, aimed at the NAACP, was also invoked by Mayor Mann against three pro-segregation groups in the city. The City Council passed the ordinance by a 7-0 vote on October 14. The following day the Mayor called upon the NAACP and the three racist organizations to submit the required information within 15 days.

Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the Arkansas State NAACP organization, announced on October 15 that lawyers for the Association "will study the ordinance and recommend what we should do."

The action by the Little Rock City Council was in response to a suggestion by State Attorney General Bruce Bennett that Arkansas muncipalities enact such ordinances to supplement a state statute requiring the filing of membership and other records and payment of an occupation license for the privilege of doing business in Arkansas. Little Rock and North Little Rock promptly passed the restrictive ordinance. Arkansas thus became the first state in which such measures have been enacted by local governments although several southern states have passed similar statutes.

In the past, the NAACP has refused to turn over membership lists lest they be used by hate groups to penalize members of the organization by firing them from jobs, foreclosing their mortgages, denying them credit, threatening and otherwise seeking to intimidate them. Moreover, the NAACP contends that as a non-profit organization it is not subject to the occupation tax.

Under the new ordinance, the Association is required to file the names of its members and contributors, its officers, agents and employees, as well as a financial statement indicating the source of all its income and a listing of all expenditures. Also required is an affidavit by the president of the branch setting forth the relation of the branch to the national organization.

NAACP GOALS FOR 1963

- Equality of job opportunity
- Freedom of residence
- Right to the ballot
- Racial integration in the public schools
- Abolition of jim crow in transportation
- Abolition of race discrimination in places of public accommodation
- Free access to non-segregated health services

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Mrs. Rose C. Byrd, life membership chairman of the PALO ALTO - STANFORD branch, reports seven additional life memberships for her branch. Five are life-membership subscribers and two are completely paid-up memberships. This brings the total of NAACP life memberships in the Palo Alto-Stanford branch to eleven. Among the life members of the branch is Ivor Winters, noted author, critic and professor of English at Stanford University. The life-membership goals of the branch are twenty by the end of 1957; ultimate goal, fifty.

BAKERSFIELD became the second city in California to enact an enforceable FEPC ordinance when its city council passed an NAACP-sponsored measure drafted by James Benjamin, local attorney and president of the Bakersfield branch.

Connecticut: Douglas J. Bennet of Lyme is chairman of a committee of citizens to raise $10,000 in Eastern Connecticut to aid the NAACP in its legal fight for integration in the South. Other members of the committee are Lieutenant-Governor Charles W. Jewett, also of Lyme; Bishop Bernard J. Flanagan, Norwich; the Rev. John A. Bagby of Wall's Temple AME Zion church, New London; Mayor Moses A. Savin; Dr. Albert N. Jorgenson, University of Connecticut, president; Mrs. James W. Morrisson, Groton, and Daniel J. Gallagher, state president of the Textile Workers Union of America.

Bennet explained: "We who have launched this project have done so out of an intense desire to take a personal hand in this historic struggle for equal educational rights for all children in all of our schools."

He added: "The seriousness of what is happening in the South goes far beyond the matter of human decency involved in seating Negro children in any school in which they wish to enroll. There is, in addition, the simple fact that any democracy that can tolerate discrimination anywhere, North or South, is in danger. And there is the fact that our claim to be the leader of the free world is badly shaken when people on the fringes of Communism around the world read the Little Rock story."

Mrs. Daniel Brown, president, and Mrs. Bernice Cook, secretary of the NEW LONDON branch, are in charge of volunteers who will work in the office of David Small in their fund soliciting efforts.

Illinois: The CHICAGO branch has made plans for its 1957 membership campaign with a goal of 20,000 members. The campaign, under the general direction of Gertrude Gorman, field secretary, will be headed in the Hyde Park area by William Watson and Sid Lens; in the northside area, by James Counch; on the near westside, by John Evans; and in the Lawndale area, by L.

Burr's Studio

THESE *Covington, Virginia, youngsters raised $126 for the NAACP freedom fund under the leadership of Mrs. C. C. Dush, chairman of the fredom fund committee. A Jackie Robinson autographed baseball was given the two youths bringing in the largest amount of money. The contest was spansored by the Covington branch.*

J. Holland. Other area leaders are being selected.

The Chicago branch has served notice, through its legal redress committee, that it plans to take legal action against the City of Chicago, the Chicago Park District, and the County of Cook on behalf of the Negro victims of the Calumet Park riot of July 1957.

The branch has also issued a 22-page study of "De Facto Segregation in Chicago Public Schools," accompanied by a 12-page "Estimated Number of Negro Pupils in Chicago Public Schools, by Schools, With Estimated Concentrations of 25 per cent and More Jewish Pupils Also Noted."

"Of 355 elementary schools listed in the 1956 [Chicago] School Directory," says the Report, "32, or 9 per cent, are mixed racially; 250, or 70 per cent, are predominantly white (90 per cent or more non-Negro pupils); 73, or 21 per cent, predominantly Negro (90 per cent or more Negro pupils). In other words, we estimate that 91 per cent of the Chicago elementary were *de facto* segregated in the spring semester of 1957."

Minnesota: Rev. Denzil A. Carty, president of the Minnesota state conference of NAACP branches, was main speaker at the September meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch. Chairman Jim Luger of the branch housing committee reported on the progress of the branch campaign to secure a local "open occupancy" ordinance.

Mississippi: The LAUREL branch youth council received its charter in September. The occasion was celebrated in ceremonies held at the Morning Star Baptist church, with Robert Hearn, council president, serving as master of ceremonies. Guest speaker was Albert Power of the Jackson branch.

Missouri: The following items are from *The St. Louis NAACP Citizen* (September, 1957):

Plans for a concentrated community drive to reduce the area of racial discrimination in employment in the St. Louis area are near completion, it was announced today by Ernest Calloway, president of the St. Louis branch.

An Employment Opportunities Council within the St. Louis NAACP has been formed to conduct the campaign. The council will serve as a co-ordinating agency for several NAACP committees directly or indirectly involved in the problems of employment. These committees include the labor and industry committee, the legislative committee, the legal redress committee, the education committee and the housing and urban renewal committee. Representatives of other community organizations, churches and civic groups are being invited to serve on the jobs' council. In addition, professional consultants from social agencies, St. Louis University and Washington University will work with the council.

It was also announced that T. D. McNeal, national vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has been selected as chairman of the Employment Opportunities Council.

* * * * *

The Kroger Co., National Food Stores and the A. & P. supermarkets in the St. Louis area have been chosen by the labor & industry committee of the St. Louis branch as the next project in the struggle for equal job opportunities.

"These stores have been the recipients of Negro business for many years," Ernest Calloway, president of the St. Louis NAACP said, "now is the time for these national chain stores to hire Negroes—not only as stock boys and porters, but also as clerks, typists, stenographers and administrative personnel in their administrative offices. Negroes should be upgraded to responsible positions. In St. Louis Negroes represent 30 per cent of the population and they should have at least twenty to twenty-five per cent of the jobs."

* * * * *

With a total current membership of

Trophy and certificate winners of the Wilmington, Delaware, branch at close of the branch's 1957 membership campaign.

6,500, the St. Louis NAACP's membership figure to date indicates a 20 per cent improvement over the total membership figure for 1956.

The membership of the branch for 1956 was 5,510. In 1955 and 1954 the membership figure was approximately 2,750 for each year.

Much of the improvement in membership is due to new membership campaign techniques and hard-hitting, hard-working membership committee leadership.

North Carolina: A 15-year-old Negro girl, Gwendolyn Yvonne Bailey, entered the eleventh grade at the Reynolds high school in WINSTON-SALEM on September 5. There were no disorders and no show of unpleasantness by the 1,800 white students as she walked to her homeroom and received her class schedule.

Pennsylvania: The twenty-third annual Pennsylvania state conference of NAACP branches, youth councils, and college chapters met in READING at the Rajah Temple October 25-27.

Recent violence in Little Rock, Nashville, and Birmingham brought a flood of letters and telephone calls to the PHILADELPHIA branch from indignant white citizens asking what they could do to help, while offering their support to the local branch.

Virginia: John M. Brooks assumed the duties of assistant to the executive secretary, W. Lester Banks, of the VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE on September 1. Mr. Brooks will be in charge of the political action program of the state conference.

Wisconsin: Membership goal of the MILWAUKEE branch is 5,000 members, with 250 members for the Tuscaloosa, Alabama, branch, which has been adopted by the local branch .

Buy

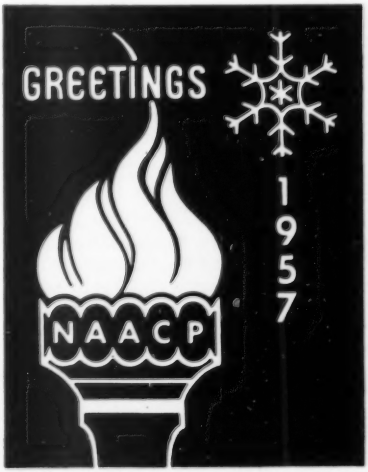
NAACP Christmas Seals

★ ★ ★

JOIN THE 1957 NAACP CHRISTMAS SEAL CAMPAIGN TO RAISE $150,000

for the general work of the Association through sale of NAACP Christmas Seals. Buy them in blocks of $2, $5, $10, $25 and up, as well as smaller quantities of 25¢, 50¢, and $1.

WRITE Bobbie Branche, Director of Seal Campaign, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.



Notice of Nominations to the Board of Directors of the NAACP

These persons have been recommended by the Nominating Committee for membership on the National Board of Directors of the NAACP for the three-year term January 1, 1958 to December 31, 1960:

MRS. DAISY BATES

Little Rock, Ark. Present member of the Board elected September 1957 to fill unexpired term of A. Maceo Smith. President Arkansas State Conference. Publisher Arkansas State Press.

C. R. DARDEN

Meridian, Miss. Has served as a volunteer worker for fourteen years. He has organized a youth council of the Meridian, Miss., branch, served as president of the Meridian branch for many years, and has been a member of the state executive board. He has served as president of the state conference of branches at its most crucial time in history.

HON. HUBERT T. DELANY

New York City. Lawyer. Member of Board since 1934. Chairman Committee on Branches and Youth Work. Member Budget Committee and Committee on Administration. Former judge Domestic Relations Court, New York City.

MAX DELSON, ESQ.

New York City. Lawyer, firm of Delson, Levin & Gordon. Elected to fill unexpired term of Judge William Hastie September 1957 on National Board of Directors. Member state and federal bar. Counsel in the U.S. for the Republic of Indonesia, Union of Burma, Virgin Islands Association, and general counsel for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Member numerous associations, including state bar association, and the American Bar Association.

PROF. S. RALPH HARLOW

Northampton, Mass. Member Board of Directors since 1943. Member National Church Committee. Author and lecturer. Retired professor of religious education at Smith College.

REV. JAMES HINTON

Columbia, S.C. Member of National Board since 1952. President South Carolina State Conference since 1941. Leader in public school segregation fight. Agency Director of Pilgrim Life and Health Insurance Company, Augusta, Ga.

DR. H. CLAUDE HUDSON

Los Angeles, Calif. Member Board of Directors since 1952. President Los Angeles branch 1924-34; mem-

ber American Dental Association; active in civic and professional affairs; president Broadway Savings and Loan Association.

GEORGE K. HUNTON

Brooklyn, N. Y. Member Board of Directors since 1955. Executive Secretary of Catholic Interracial Council. Received Papal Award for interracial work in 1950. Charter member National Council for Permanent Federal FEPC. Founder Catholic Interracial Council. Editor *Interracial Review*.

MRS. DAISY LAMPKIN

Pittsburgh, Pa. Member Board since 1949. Formerly field secretary for NAACP. Member of Branch, Budget and Life Membership Committees; organized Links, Inc., project which brought in $27,000 in life memberships in 1956. Vice-president Pittsburgh *Courier*.

LOREN MILLER, ESQ.

Los Angeles, Calif. Member Board since June 1956. Lawyer and publisher of The California *Eagle*. Member National Legal Committee. Was one of the attorneys in the restrictive covenants cases which were settled by the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May 1948 banning judicial enforcement of such discriminatory agreements.

CARL MURPHY

Baltimore, Md. Member National Board since 1931; served on official bodies such as Governor's Commission on Unemployment Insurance and Board of trustees of Morgan State College. President *Afro-American* newspapers.

WALTER REUTHER

Detroit, Mich. Member National Board since 1949. Formerly president of Congress of Industrial Organizations. President of the United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, and vice-president of the AFL-CIO.

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN

New York City. President of NAACP since 1940. Member of Board since 1915. Chairman National Legal Committee 1909-1938. Ex-officio member of all Board committees. Noted collector of Negro literature. Distinguished lawyer.

BISHOP STEPHEN G. SPOTTSWOOD

Washington, D.C. Member of Board since January 1955. Bishop AME Zion Church. Member National Church Committee. Former president District of Columbia branch.

DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS

New York City. Chairman of the Board since 1953. Member Board since 1943. Formerly National YMCA executive; alternate U.S. delegate to the U.N.; member, President's Civil Rights Committee. Retired director, Phelps-Stokes Fund.

DR. U. S. WIGGINS

Camden, N. J. Member of Board since 1949. President Camden branch, former president New Jersey State Conference. Physician. Member branch committee and health committee.

The new nominee for the Board in the enclosed list is:

C. R. Darden, Meridian, Mississippi

The Association's Constitution provides:

"Independent nominations may be made by petitions signed by not less

than thirty members of the Association in good standing by filing the same with the Secretary *not later than November 1* of each year. The Secretary shall send to each branch of the Association not later than November 15 of each year a ballot containing the nominations of the Nomination Committee, plus the nominations by independent petition. Each branch at its annual meeting shall by vote of the members present make its choices for the members of the Board of Directors. The said choices shall be marked upon the ballot submitted by the Secretary and the said ballot shall be signed by the president and secretary of the branch and must be returned to the national office not later than Decmbr 31 of each year. The said ballots shall be held by the Secretary in a safe place until the annual meeting.

"At each annual meeting the said ballots shall be opened by a committee selected at said annual meeting and counted on the following basis:

	Members			*Votes*
Branches of from	50	to	100	2
	100	to	500	3
	500	to	1000	4
	1000	to	2500	5
	2500	to	5000	6
	5000	to	10000	8
	10000	to	20000	9
Over	20000			10

"Any ballot or ballots containing the name or names of any persons for election to the said Board not nominated in accordance with the Constitution shall be void."

THESE *are the very active officers of the Wichita, Kansas, branch: (from L) Chester I. Lewis, Jr., president; Mrs. Vivian J. Parks, state and local secretary; Clarence A. Laws, field secretary region 4; Mrs. Phynola Cook, treasurer; Willard O. Boykin, second vice-president and chairman of press and publicity committee; Mary L. Evans, co-chairman of the membership drive; Howard Hoy, third vice-president; and Willis Hockett, membership chairman.*

Edward A. Bagwell

YA DOUMBIA *of the French Sudan, first vice-president of the All-French Union Parliament, greets Roy Wilkins (R), NAACP executive secretary, after taking out a membership in the Association to express his appreciation and admiration for the work of the organization. The meeting took place at the national office in New York City.*

College and School News

Educational television programming has tripled since 1954, according to a report released by the EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER. The number of stations has jumped from 9 in 1954 to 23 this year.

■

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE continues to grow. Since 1876 more than 6,000 young men and women from 47 states and 12 foreign countries have been graduated from Meharry.

Meharry began as a one-room missionary school with an individual gift of $500. Its first graduating class in 1877 consisted of one student. Today the students in its three schools—medicine, dentistry, and nursing—number 485. The estimated value of Meharry's buildings, grounds, and equipment is $7,000,000. Endowment amounts to slightly more than $6,048,909, and the annual budget is over $2,000,000.

Dr. Horace Goldie, head of the department of oncology, and Dr. Matthew Walker, chairman of the department of surgery, had a paper published in a recent issue of *Cancer Research*. Two students, Alvin Graham and Georgia Mitchell, assisted in the research for the paper, "Effect of Amino-teropteran and of this Tepa on Growth and Implantation of Free Tumor Cells from Ascites Tumors."

DONA MAY CHENOWETH, *winner in the 20th annual national scholarship contest of the Phi Delta Kappa sorority.*

■

The JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION announces "Opportunity Fellowships for 1958-1959. The competition for these fellowships is open to any citizen of the United States who has given evidence of special ability and who has not had full opportunity to develop his talents because of arbitrary barriers of race, cultural background, or region of residence.

■

The DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY, INC., announces that twelve high

school graduates are recipients of the sorority's national college scholarships for the 1957-58 school year. The scholarships range from $200 to $500.

The scholarship winners, and the schools to which they will go, are Lutrelle Hilton, of Port St. Joe, Florida, to Florida A&M; Bertha Hampton, Roanoke, Virginia, to Hampton Institute; Freddie Mitchell, Chicago, to University of Illinois; Frances Whaley, Little Rock, Arkansas, to University of Michigan; Shirley McBee, Tulsa, Oklahoma, to Langston; Mae Jones, Los Angeles, California, to George Pepperdine college; Racheal Vincent, Atlanta, Georgia, to Tougaloo Southern Christian; Joyce Williams, Gary, Indiana, to University of India; Annie Mae Spaulding, Clarktown, North Carolina, to North Carolina college; Gloria Dixon, Gary, Indiana, to University of Indiana; and Rose Duncan, Monessen, Pennsylvania, to Tuskegee.

■

Three girls are winners in the 20th annual national scholarship contest of the PHI DELTA KAPPA sorority. They are Grace Louise Smith, sponsored by NU chapter of Birmingham, Alabama, for the southern region, who will enter Miles college; Kathleen Nilsen, a close second, sponsored by Theta chapter of New York City for the eastern region, who will enter City College of New York; and Donna May Chenoweth, sponsored by Beta Mu chapter of Gary, Indiana, for the midwest region, who will enter Albion college. Each of the girls will be awarded $1,000 and a merit certificate for a Phi Delta Kappa scholarship.

The sorority will award more than $6,500 in scholarships this year.

■

An American Conscience Fund, conceived by Dr. William Van Til, chairman of New York university's department of secondary education, has been set up and is being administered by THE NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS.

The idea for the fund stemmed from an editorial in *The New York Times* during the height of the Little Rock crisis. Dr. Van Til, who had taught in the South for the past six

KATHLEEN NILSEN, *a close second in the 20th annual national scholarship contest of the Phi Delta Kappa sorority.*

years, wrote the *Times* that such actions were not characteristic and proposed the establishment of an American Conscience Fund to contribute to the cost of college education for boys and girls now and in the future "who must take the lonely walk from which they and their nation can never turn back, despite militia and mobs."

■

The choirs of Texas, Knoxville, Lane, and Paine colleges were heard on the American Broadcasting Network's weekly series during the month of October. These colleges are members of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, which is now making its 14th annual fund-raising appeal.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY reports the following faculty appointments: Dr. Horace Mann Bond as guest professor of education and acting dean of the school of education; Dr. Lonnie Cross as associate professor of mathematics and chairman of the department; Dr. John D. Reid to the department of sociology and anthropology; and Carolyn Ford to a position in the school of library service.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

TEN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES TO SERVE *YOU*

- School of Law
- Graduate School
- School of Music
- School of Religion
- College of Medicine
- College of Dentistry
- College of Pharmacy
- School of Social Work
- College of Liberal Arts
- School of Engineering & Architecture

13 NATIONAL HONOR SOCIETIES
ADVANCED ARMY AND AIR R.O.T.C.

Write
DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE
BALTIMORE 12, MARYLAND

A fully accredited college of Liberal Arts open to all qualified students regardless of race, religion, nationality, sex.

- 35 areas of study in 19 departments
- Advanced ROTC
- 7 national honor societies
- Regular, Evening, Summer Sessions

Write:
DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT

Myron Johnson fills the position of Dr. Laurence Boyd, now on sabbatical leave, as professor of education.

University registrar Paul I. Clifford has been named local representative for the Atlanta University Center by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation.

Atlanta has scheduled thirty-seven courses for the fall semester at hours when they will be available for in-service teachers and other regularly employed people. The offerings are in English, French, political science, sociology, anthropology, library service, and business administration.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president, attended the World Federation of United Nations Association which met in Geneva, Switzerland, September 2-8. Dr. Clement was a member of the American delegation.

Dr. Samuel M. Nabrit, president of Texas Southern university, was commencement speaker at closing on August 16 of the TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE summer term. There were ap-

Cheyney

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Cheyney, Pennsylvania

fully accredited by
The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education . . . and
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SUMMER SESSIONS

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proximately 180 graduates, the majority of whom received master of science and master of education degrees.

Colonel John A. Welch is the new dean of the school of mechanical industries at Tuskegee.

Dr. Allison Davis, professor of education at the University of Chicago, was speaker at the 17th Annual All-Institute Conference, which marked the opening of the institute's 77th academic year September 13-14.

■

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of the City College of New York City and an NAACP board member, delivered the keynote address at the tenth National Student Congress at the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN in August. Dr. Gallagher said that the struggle for democracy in racial matters is the key issue facing America in the second half of the 20th century.

■

Dr. Albert Turner, dean of the law school at the North Carolina college at Durham, was speaker at opening of FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE's 1957-58 academic year on September 17.

■

Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., secretary of Howard university, delivered the main address at the formal opening exercises of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE on September 27.

Aubrey S. Escoffery, assistant professor of psychology, has been recently awarded a teaching fellowship at the University of Connecticut in Storrs, Connecticut, for the school year 1957-58. Mr. Escoffery will be studying toward the Ph.D. degree in psychology with a major in personality theory and clinical psychology.

GRACE SMITH, *a winner in the 20th annual national scholarship contest of the Phi Delta Kappa sorority.*

■

The NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH opened its Center for African Studies, under the direction of Sanford Griffith, on September 24. The center will be a meeting place for the study and exchange of ideas about Africa, and the courses are designed to give a basic orientation in African history and geography, and in current social and economic developments. William Leo Hansberry of Howard university is one of the course teachers.

■

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE reports four faculty promotions: Dr. Maurice Lee, specialist in reading, from associate professor to professor of English; and from rank of instructor to assistant professor: Stewart Brooks, health and physical education; Jessie Colson, business education; and Mrs. Ruthe Sheffey, English.

■

Dr. John W. Turner, specialist in Jungian psychotherapy, Greensboro, North Carolina, will serve as special lecturer in the department of psychology at SHAW UNIVERSITY during the first semester of 1957-58.

There are eight additions to the Shaw faculty and staff, four staff members returning from leaves of absence, and three faculty members on "sabbatical" pursuing studies leading to doctoral degrees.

Six popular courses in astronomy, meteorology, coastal navigation, Asian history, natural resources of North America, and the techniques of miniature dioramas are being offered this fall by THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

The appointment of Dr. Robert Carneiro and Dr. Wesley Lanyon as assistant curators at the Museum has been announced by Dr. Albert E. Parr, the Museum's director.

Dr. Carneiro, whose title will be assistant curator of South American ethnology, is a former instructor in anthropology at the University of Wisconsin. He has had experience in South American field work and is an expert on the Kuikuru Indians of the Upper Xingu region of the Mato Grosso in Brazil.

Dr. Lanyon, newly appointed assistant curator of birds, is the author of a comprehensive monograph on meadowlarks. A former instructor at Miami university in Ohio, he also spent five summers as a naturalist with the National Park Service establishing trails and trailside museums.

Pointing their bayonets in business-like fashion, soldiers of the 101st Airborne Division march a group of men down the street away from Central High School in Litle Rock, Arkansas.

United Press

Book Reviews

GRADE-A SIMPLE

Simple Stakes A Claim. **By Langston Hughes. 191pp. New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1957. 191pp. $2.50.**

In a foreword to this book of sketches on the life and times of Harlem's Jesse B. Semple, better known as Simple, the author suggests that a humorous Negro monthly magazine would be a welcome addition to American life. Expanding this idea, Hughes lists 16 potential contributors—including cartoonists, journalists, novelists and comedians, ranging from Jackie Mabley to George S. Schuyler.

This reviewer would never sell a Hughes' idea short, for his literary brainchildren have enjoyed some 30 years of artistic success. But with Simple, Hughes has struck commercial gold. He has exploited the vein to the extent of three books and a Broadway theatrical production, all adapted from newspaper columns from the Chicago Defender.

Hughes' and Simple's successes are well deserved, for in Jesse B. the author has created a tribute to the dignity of a common man who happens to be a Negro. This is no mean trick. In hands less skilled than Hughes', portrayals of some Negroes—"colleged" as well as "uncolleged"—are apt to wind up in racial embarrassment.

Of the 16 named by Hughes for his magazine, Harlem's Nipsey Russell is one comedian who can tell a racial joke in an integrated audience without any loss of dignity. Perhaps America's best literal interpreter of life among poor, urban Negroes is the cartoonist, Ollie Harrington. His "Mr. Bootsie" is a constant delight to his fellow Negroes, but he is hardly the type they would want to introduce to a new white neighbor.

Although Hughes' awareness of racial sensitivities is clearly shown in the Broadway production of "Simply Heavenly," which he obviously tidied up for white consumption, *Simple Stakes a Claim* is pure, unadulterated Grade-A Simple. In this new book, Simple reaches new glorious heights of racial indignation and disgust. Everybody goes when Simple's wagon comes.

During "White History Week," for example, Simple would have President Eisenhower appear on television "knocking a golf ball all the way from Augusta, Georgia, to Alabama . . . right into Reverend King's Montgomery backyard."

"Just as Negro History Week honors a few good white folks," Simple continues, "so White History Week should honor a few good black folks." During whites' week, Simple says he would pay Louis Armstrong "to blow his horn whilst the bombs is blowing up the dance hall."

"Then I would hire Nat King Cole," Simple adds, "to sing again in Birmingham and act out how he was knocked down by white folks on the stage but did not even get mad about it."

Both North and South share Simple's outrage. Simple says he told his alchoholic cousin Minnie from Virginia that "the rainbow with the pot of gold at its end arches right on over New York City. It must terminate somewhere out in the Atlantic Ocean, because it sure do not end in Harlem."

Yet, Simple continues; "None of them jim-crow states is worth the left hand corner of 125th St. and Lenox Ave. All of them states put together, from Virginia to Florida and Florida to Texas, I would not trade for one barstool in New York."

But Mississippi is the state which Simple singles out for special attention. In an hilarious stroke of double entendre, Simple tells what Mississippi ain't from and what he would do when he got to heaven, attached his wings, and flew over the state. ("As I fly, I hope none of them Dixiecrats has time to get his umbrella up.").

Simple comments on everything from the atomic age to chicken necks, but no matter what he starts talking about, he always winds up on the racial problem. But, alas, Simple is almost forced to admit that he doesn't know the answers. In this exchange between himself and the author:

> "Inscrutable are the ways of nature," says Hughes.
> "Screwed up and unscrewable," Simple replies.

LUTHER P. JACKSON, JR.

LUTHER P. JACKSON, JR., *is a reporter on the staff of the* Newark Evening News, *Newark, New Jersey.*

AFRIKANER SOCIETY

South Africa: Economic and Political Aspects. **By Hector Menteith Robertson. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1957. X+192pp. $3.50.**

Shaka Zulu: The Rise of the Zulu Empire. **By E. A. Ritter. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1957. XVI+383pp. $5.00.**

Professor Robertson, an Englishman by birth and education, but now Jagger professor of economics at the University of Cape Town and past president of the Economic Society of South Africa, has compressed the constitutional and economic history of The Union of South Africa into 119 pages. The rest of his book, which originated in a series of lectures delivered at Duke University in March, 1956, consists of a glossary, bibliography, and index.

Whether you are disgusted or irritated by South Africa's racial policy, you can get a basic understanding of the South African predicament by reading *South Africa*. The Union originated in communities of Dutch and British colonists who had settled among black Africans. Racial tension and racial conflict marked these contacts from the beginning: first the Dutch with the Hottentots and then the Bantus, and later with the English. Then the Cape Colored emerged, followed by introduction of the East Indian and a few Chinese and Malays. Territorial separation of whites and non-whites, as well as the color-bar, have always been a part of South African policy, although the territorial separation, now known as apartheid, has been more successful as a formula than a practice. "The restrictive side [of apartheid], which does away with common citizenship and segregates from common opportunities, is easier of accomplishment than the creation of adequate new forms of citizenship and of separate economic opportunities for the non-Europeans, which will be superior to those foregone."

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Total apartheid is, of course, impossible and naturally opposed by the manufacturing industry, which relies upon non-whites for cheap labor. "So far little *apartheid* has been achieved save on paper, in legislation rather than in significant forms of geographical separation, and that the rapid growth of the economy has been bound up with the growing integration—in fact, in spite of all contrary theories—of more and more Africans whole-time into the European economic structure."

Shaka is hardly a name outside South Africa, but in those parts he ranks with Napoleon as soldier and politician. Beginning with an insignificant tribe of Nguni occupying an area one tenth the size of Rhode Island, Shaka created an army of disciplined soldiers and conquered vast territories to make the Zulu nation. Shaka invented a new fighting blade, called Ixwa, and a new fighting formation in which the army was drawn up with a central head and chest, "with half a regiment on each side thrown out as enveloping horns to ensure the complete annihilation of the enemy force." Shaka always insisted: "Follow a defeated enemy ruthlessly and put the fear of Shaka into him."

Shaka was intrepid, audacious, resourceful; a man of great physical and mental capabilities. He was brilliantly successful, but at the peak of his career he was assassinated by his jealous brothers and "within fifty years his work was almost completely undone."

Shaka was the illegitimate son of Senzangakna, a minor Zulu chieftain, and Nandi. He was born in 1787. Shaka's father was given the privilege of *ama hlay endlela* ("the fun of the roads") by Nandi, but the two lost their heads and had coitus. When her menses failed to appear, she was thought to be harboring *I-Shaka* (an intestinal beetle held responsible for suppression of the menses). But when Nandi became a mother the Zulu people were asked to come and fetch their *I-Shaka*. So the child was named *U-Shaka*.

Shaka's like is a fascinating story which Mr. Ritter tells with a Boswellian delight in the revealing anecdote. Mr. Ritter was born in Natal and spoke Zulu before he did English, which give him unique qualifications as Shaka's biographer.

J.W.I.

The Deep South Says "Never." **By John Bartlow Martin. Foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. New York: Ballantine Books, 1957. Paperbound edition. 181pp. 35¢. Hardbound edition $2.50.**

Current troubles in Little Rock give timeliness to this book. What Mr. Martin has done is to record conversations with key people in the South on integration: Sam Englehart, executive secretary of the Citizens' Councils of Alabama; W. J. Simmons, organizer of the WCC in Jackson, Mississippi; Attorney General Cook of Georgia, who claims he would sell the state parks rather than desegregate them; Robert Patterson and Asa "Ace" Carter, two of the strong figures in the White Citizens' Council groups; Judge Tom Brady of Mississippi, rabid segregationist, and others.

Whereas the whites are defying the Court and do not believe its edict can be enforced, Negroes, on the other hand, believe that it will be eventually obeyed. Mr. Martin's conclusions are that there is little white sentiment in the Deep South favoring integration, that the White Citizens' Councils and the Klan control the situation, and that

these factors suggest that integration will not occur in the foreseeable future. This report is an invaluable handbook for those who want to know what is actually happening in the Deep South.

***America's Tenth Man: A Pictorial Review of One-Tenth of a Nation Presenting the Negro Contribution to American Life Today.* Edited and compiled by Lucille Arcola Chambers. Foreword by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1957. 351pp. $7.50.**

This book details through picture and story the remarkable achievements of Negroes in American life. Among the areas covered are government, education, medicine, business, religion, labor and industry, communications, farming, etc. The book fills a long-felt need, and much of its information cannot be found elsewhere.

SOUTH AFRICA

***Passive Resistance in South Africa.* By Leo Kupfer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. 256pp. $3.50.**

***The Anatomy of South African Misery.* By C. W. DeKiewiet. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. VIII+88pp. $1.75.**

***An Introduction to the History of East Africa.* By Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1957. XX+263pp. $3.00.**

Accretions to the library of Africa have become never-ending and the three volumes under review here are simply symbolical of a process gathering momentum almost daily. Speaking of the Union of South Africa, Professor Kupfer of Natal University has selected a piece of recent history with immediate overtones to make a sociological analysis of the *Passive Resistance* movement of 1952 in the Union, which marked a turning point in intergroup cooperation in that both the Indian and the African National Congress finally united in protest against the racist apartheid program of the Union government. This is a most detailed study revealing the meaning given to passive acts, the reactions of whites to use of this technique, an accounting of society there, and other passive resistance attempts preceding the 1952 occurrence. The several chapters cover ideological background, apartheid legislation, passive resistance as a political tool, preparations for the 1952 affair, the campaign, reactions of different sections of the Union population to the movement, Government counteraction, contemporary manifestations of passive resistance, and broad trends in current racial patterns. The whole is an objective appraisal of a movement involving deep human emotions, clear reasoning, and ideology of extreme difference. The author has pulled together material of all kinds and understands well the limitations under which he had to work. Nevertheless, though his "approach has been selective, and some important aspects are not included," this is a very reliable volume on the subject and is highly recommended to those who would understand the troubles of South Africa today and race relations wherever they occur in the modern world.

Turning to a more current analysis, Dr. DeKiewiet, born in the Netherlands but reared and educated in South Africa and England, presents three lectures delivered at McMasters University in Canada that deal with *South African Misery* today. Pointing out that there "the sum of segregation laws are an effort to prevent failure in a white man and success in a black man," he discusses nationalism and racialism, apartheid, and danger signs that indicate it is "time for a decision." Conservative in his feelings and philosophy, he has been careful and cautious but objective in his approach to what is probably the greatest of all contemporary racial situations. These searching essays explore

the history behind conditions in the Union today, emphasize how deluded the Afrikaners are not only to advocate but actually to believe they can erect and maintain a white supremacy societal structure in the modern world, but more especially in an Africa where the indigenous peoples are finally coming into their own. They also stress the need for action to prevent an explosion in that part of Africa. To the expert the little volume contains nothing new, but the value of this monograph rests upon its clarity of presentation, honest understanding of the elements involved, and the realistic conclusion that illuminates the difficulty of finding an answer to such a complex human problem that now is so eroded with emotionalism as to blot out reason in reaching a peaceful and equitable solution.

Moving upward northeast from the seething cauldron of discontent in South Africa is found a broad expanse of territory as yet little understood outside of more erudite circles, but for those interested in coming abreast of things there they will find that the *History of East Africa* is a balanced treatment of foundations underlying the growth of Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Kenya. Its value is enhanced by the analysis made of events in very early times in this area and why Asians and Arabs penetrated there before Europeans. In some detail the authors cover all four territories and their populations, peer into the complexities of the slave trade, discuss the abolition movement in the British Empire and its effect on East Africa, talk about exploration, missionary societies, the European scramble for and subsequent partitioning of the region, the role and influence of Lord Lugard, and industrial, economic, and constitutional developments in selected areas. This is probably the best composite abbreviated volume on the subject. It is well written, highly informative, and gives an overview that appeals to both layman and serious student. It adds immeasurably to its worth through addition of an appendix, index, and postscript to bring it up to date in outlining its basic purpose of trying to bring to the problems of East Africa a "harmonious understanding on which a wise advance must depend."

HUGH H. SMYTHE

LITTLE ROCK CRISIS

(*Continued from page* 535)

the local community; that the Department of Justice, at the invitation of the court, must participate in litigation involving desegregation; the period of time must be set by local authorities; a final order of a federal court giving effect to school desegregation must be obeyed by state authories as the law of the land; and that the powers of a state government may not be used to defeat a valid order of a federal court.

Governor Faubus in his hasty and ill-considered action, which many believe was aimed at obtaining the Democratic nomination for a third term as governor, more than likely did the Negroes in Arkansas and elsewhere a great service. Five years from now, it may well be said that the entire situation was providential and segregation in the South was dealt its gravest blow after May 17, 1954, when Governor Faubus used troops of the Arkansas National Guard to bar the admission of nine Negro students into Central High School.

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